

# The St. Louis Fed at 100: Reflections on the "Maverick" Reserve Bank



Vice President and Deputy Director of Research Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis May 6, 2014



# I'm Not Making This Up, But Don't Quote Me

The views expressed in this presentation do not necessarily reflect official positions of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis or the Federal Reserve System.

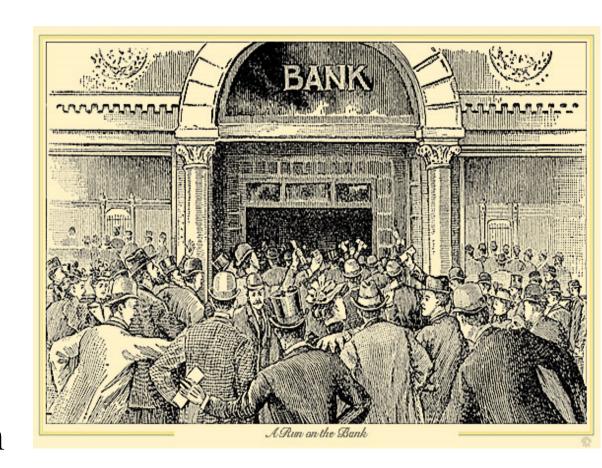


#### Presentation Outline

- Why the Fed was established
- How St. Louis came to be chosen as the location for a Federal Reserve Bank
- □ The "Great Inflation" and the "maverick" Reserve Bank
- □ The legacy: The benefits of a regional structure

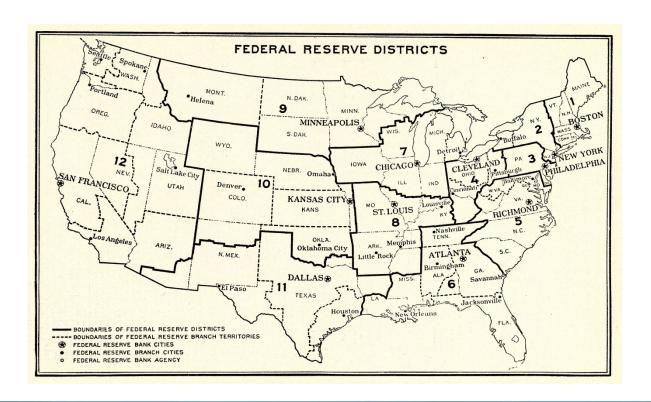
#### The Problem: Panics, Crashes and Crises

- An "inelastic"currency
- Banking panics
- No lender of last resort
- An inefficient payments system



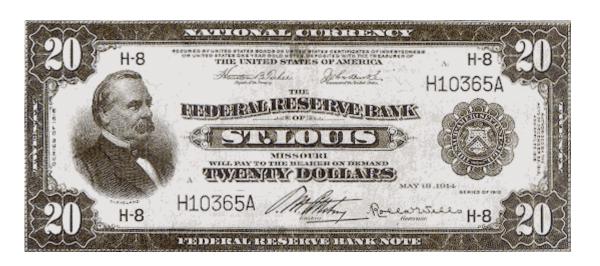
### The Solution: Not A "Central Bank"

■ Political compromises produced a system of *regional*, *private* Reserve banks with *public* oversight.



## A New Currency and a Lender of Last Resort

- □ A new currency the Federal Reserve note
- □ A lender of last resort the discount window
- An integrated payments system



# Why St. Louis Got a Reserve Bank



kingjon/iStock/Thinkstock

Hint: It wasn't the Arch.

## St. Louis Was a Big Deal!

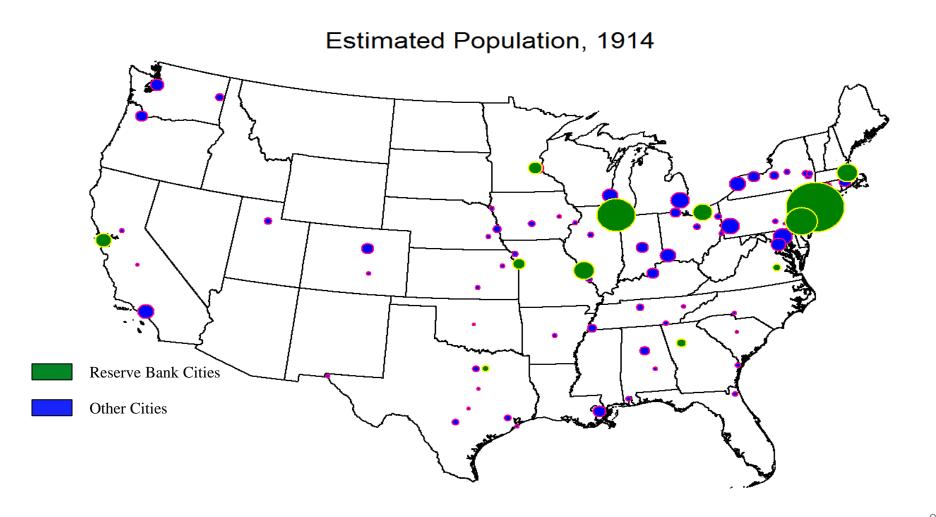


Missouri History Museum

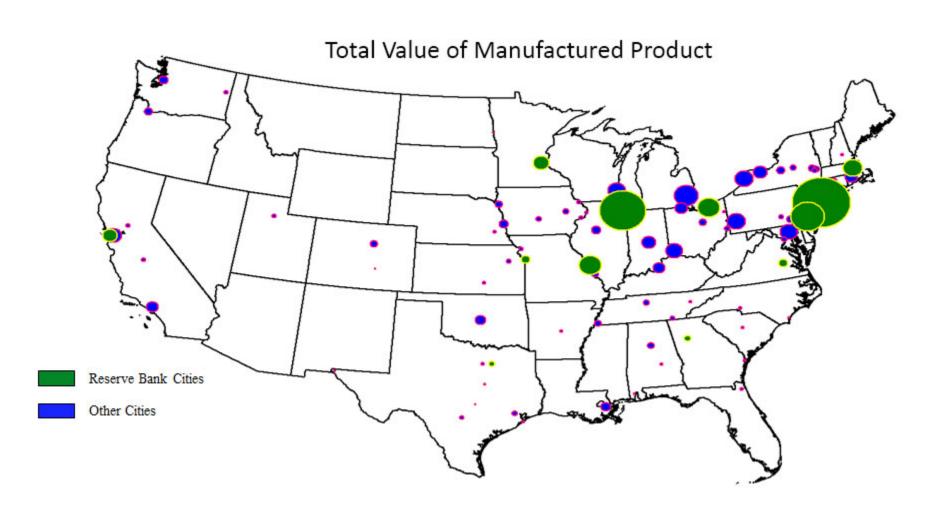


Missouri History Museum

# It Was the Fourth Largest City



# It Was Fifth in Manufacturing Output



# It Was a Transportation Hub



Missouri History Museum

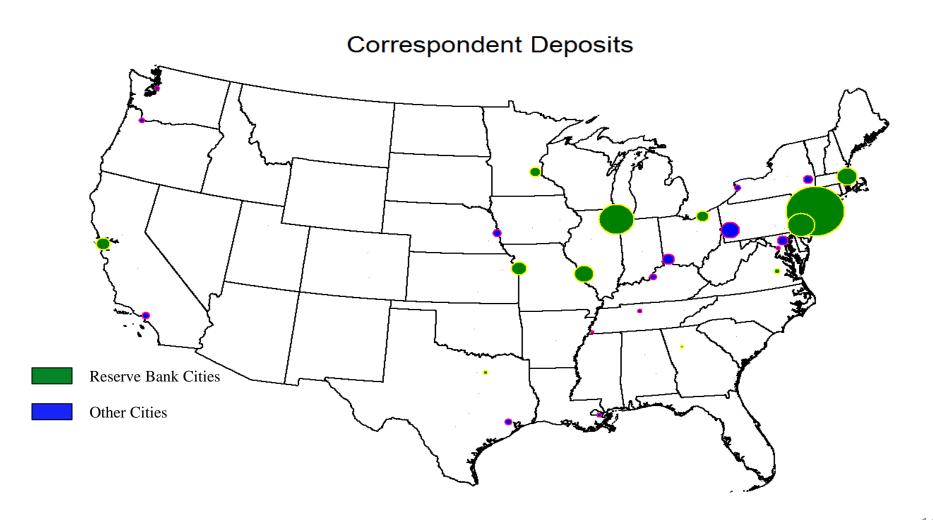
# St. Louis Was Big!

City	Population	Manufacturing Output (Thousands of Dollars)	Mfg. Rank
New York, NY	5,333,539	\$2,292,832	1
Chicago, Il	2,397,600	\$1,483,498	2
Philadelphia, PA	1,657,810	\$784,500	3
St. Louis, MO	734,667	\$360,480	5
Boston, MA	733,802	\$284,802	7
Cleveland, OH	639,431	\$352,418	6
Baltimore, MD	579,590	\$215,172	11
Pittsburgh, PA	564,878	\$246,694	9
Detroit, MI	537,650	\$400,348	4
Buffalo, NY	454,112	\$247,516	8
Milwaukee, WI	419,589	\$223,555	10
Cincinnati, OH	402,175	\$210,860	12
Newark, NJ	389,106	\$210,601	13
Minneapolis, MN	343,466	\$187,854	14
Jersey City, NJ	293,921	\$164,528	15
Louisville, KY	235,114	\$105,223	25
Memphis, TN	143,231	\$39,133	80
Little Rock, AR	53,811	\$7,755	>100

## Our Leading Industries

- Meat packing (sixth in the nation)
- Boots/shoes (fourth)
- □ Beer (fourth)
- □ St. Louis was also big in other industries: clothing, printing/publishing, coffee roasting, patent medicines, stoves and furnaces.

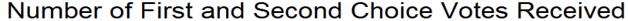
## St. Louis Was a Central Reserve City

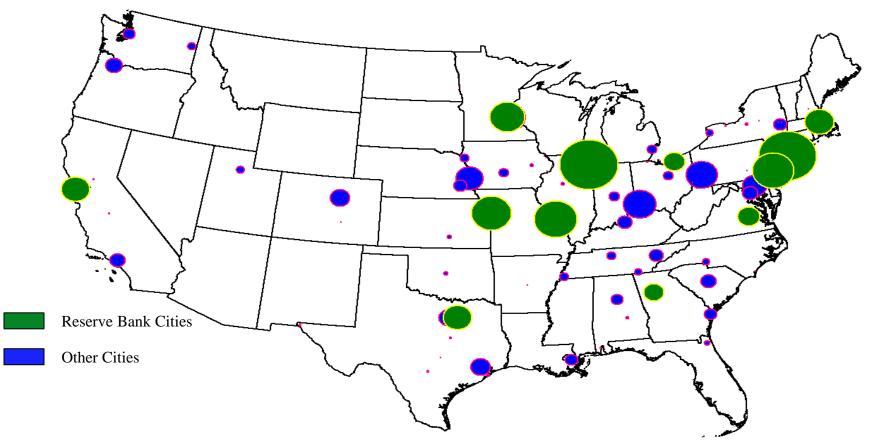


# Number of Banks and Interbank Deposits

	Number of Banks and	
City	Trust Companies	Correspondent Deposits
New York, NY	142	\$742,386,939
Chicago, IL	88	\$278,824,567
Philadelphia, PA	100	\$173,584,687
Boston, MA	60	\$97,136,156
St. Louis, MO	44	\$90,430,968
Pittsburgh, PA	83	\$79,314,345
Kansas City, MO	30	\$54,835,438
San Francisco, CA	45	\$45,859,188
Cleveland, OH	35	\$36,746,820
Cincinnati, OH	39	\$32,593,282
Minneapolis, MN	33	\$31,316,864
Baltimore, MD	55	\$27,421,904
St. Paul, MN	20	\$16,002,069
Louisville, KY	18	\$11,750,499
Richmond, VA	26	\$10,970,068
Portland, OR	22	\$8,427,674
Seattle, WA	32	\$7,518,865
New Orleans, LA	19	\$7,229,470
Washington DC	36	\$5,516,705
Memphis, TN	22	\$2,377,836

#### Bankers Wanted a Bank in St. Louis





#### Even Some Illinois Bankers!

Exclarge Bank Milton See

Millon 1118., February 4 1914.

We believe it to be to the interest of this community that it should be included in the Federal Reserve District, the Federal Reserve Bank of which should be St Lews mo

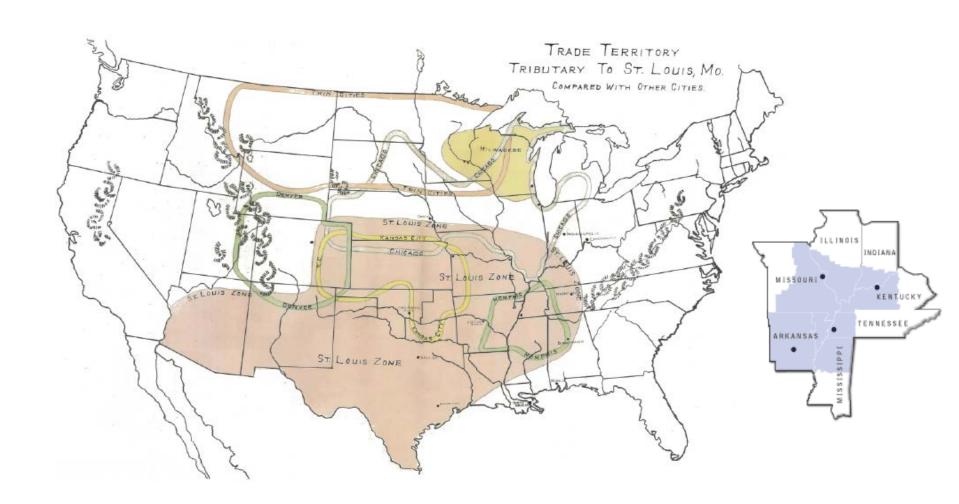
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## The St. Louis Proposal

- "We beg of you not to establish more than eight [Federal Reserve] banks."
- □ "The states of Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Southern Illinois and Southern Indiana, with St. Louis as the reserve center."
- "Ten or fifteen branches"

# The Proposed District (Versus What We Got)



# The Great Inflation and the "Maverick" Reserve Bank

## The Great Inflation



#### Who or What Caused It?

- □ The Board of Governors (Burns and others) blamed budget deficits, OPEC, labor unions and monopolists.
- Monetarists (Friedman, etc.) blamed the Fed for causing the money supply to grow too rapidly.





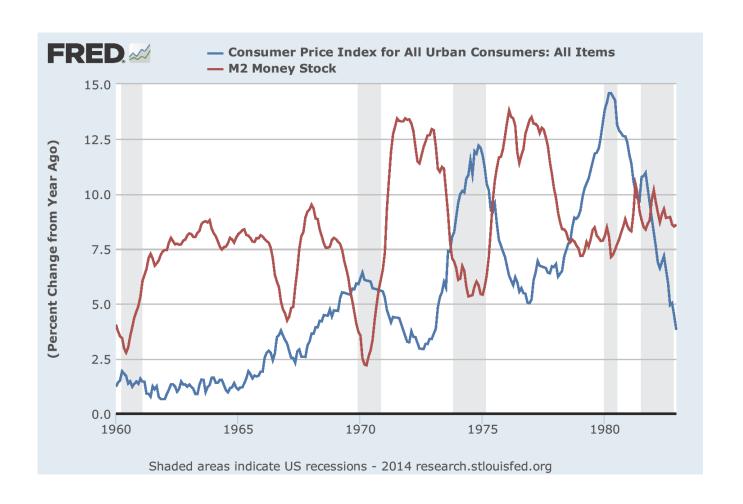
David Falconer / EPA / U.S. National Archives

#### The Fed Did It!

- "Stop-Go-Stop" monetary policy was a recipe for disaster:
- Slam on the brakes to fight inflation, but cause a recession.
- Step on the gas to reduce unemployment, but generate higher inflation.
- Repeat.



# Stop-Go Monetary Policy



#### St. Louis Fed Positions

- Inflation is caused by rapid growth of the money supply.
- Wage/price controls won't work.
- Stop-go policy is bad for the economy.
- Higher inflation does not reduce unemployment.



Leonall Andersen and Homer Jones in 1971

#### The Board Didn't Want to Hear It

□ Audio clip: Francis describing Martin and Burns









William McChesney Martin Jr., Arthur Burns and Darryl Francis

## Leadership: Homer Jones and Darryl Francis

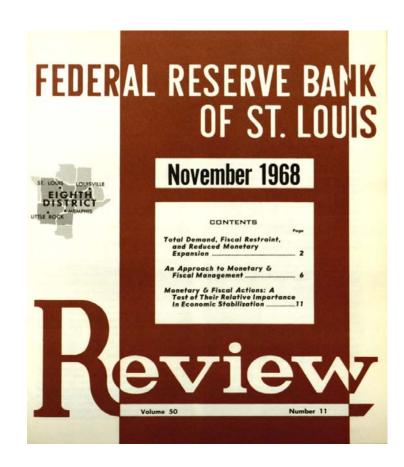
- □ Darryl Francis,President (1966-76)
- Homer Jones, Director of Research (1958-71)
- □ Francis was willing to buck the system and Jones gave him the ammunition.



Homer Jones and Darryl Francis, 1971

#### The St. Louis Fed Went Public

- Data, Data and more Data
- □ Analysis, e.g., Andersen-Jordan (1968)
- Academic interactions
- Speeches



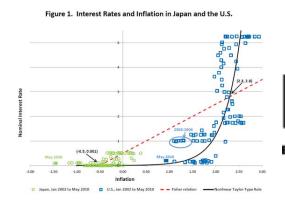
#### The Board Didn't Like It!

- FOMC considered proposals to "coordinate" research at the Reserve banks.
- Review articles subjected to Board approval.
- Board of Governors rejected nominee to succeed Francis.
- Burns told Roos that the St.
   Louis Fed was out of control and needed fixing.



## The Legacy

- Under Paul Volcker, the Fed finally accepted responsibility for inflation and in 1979 adopted a policy to bring inflation under control.
- Other Reserve banks copied St. Louis' research focus.
- St. Louis has continued to emphasize research, information, and economic education.





#### The Lesson

- □ The Fed's decentralized structure allows diverse policy views to be heard.
- The structure encourages a "competition of ideas" and innovation.



### For More Information...

- Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Annual Report for 2013 (<a href="http://www.stlouisfed.org/">http://www.stlouisfed.org/</a>) (coming soon)
- St. Louis Fed Centennial website (<u>http://fraser.stlouisfed.org/centennial/</u>)
- □ FRASER (<a href="http://fraser.stlouisfed.org/">http://fraser.stlouisfed.org/</a>)
- Federal Reserve System Centennial Gateway (<u>http://www.federalreservehistory.org/</u>)